FREEDOM

An Anarchist Monthly

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Notes and Comments

Welcome to Emma Goldman:

It is with the greatest satisfaction and keenest personal pleasure that we welcome to these shores, if only for the brief period of ninety days, our old friend and comrade Emma Goldman after her forced exile of fifteen years. Whatever future historians may have to say about her, it is certain and indisputable that they cannot ignore her. A woman of high intelligence and indomitable courage, a truly great writer and the propagandist of a lofty ideal. Welcome, Emma.

Ethics in the Totalitarian State:

It was a German who spoke of the transvaluation of all values and the present rulers of Germany have done and are doing considerable in that respect. According to a story by Mr. Edward J. Condlon in the *New York Times* of January 12, Dr. Schacht, president of the Reichsbank, has applied the principles of Machiavelli to finance in a manner that would cause the master to declare the pupil a genius. Briefly the story is this: Some time ago Dr. Schacht declared a moratorium on the payment of interest on German bonds on the ground the country was in no position to pay. The next step was to order payment of 50 per cent in cash and 50 per cent in scrip to those who wished to sell the bonds. The scrip was redeemable only at the Reichsbank's affiliate, the Gold Discount Bank, *at whatever price the bank chose to pay*. This caused a decline in the value of the bonds and then the German government through agents in this country bought since last Spring $250,000,000 worth of bonds at an actual cost of $60,000,000. In other words, Germany could not afford to pay $45,000,000 interest last year but could and did afford $60,000,000 to buy the bonds she herself had depreciated, making $195,000,000 on the transaction. Not bad financing that. But Dr. Schacht is not satisfied and has now ordered the payment of only 30 per cent in cash and 70 per cent in scrip. This, according to Mr. Condlon, means that those who wish to redeem their bonds will get only 65 cents for every dollar they paid. Originally there were $1,200,000,000 of these bonds sold here. And it must be remembered that these are not war debts but bonds issued by the German government and sold to people here. Bonds to the amount of $450,000,000 have already been repatriated "and each day that passes sees the remainder steadily whittled down."

If an individual had a mortgage on his house or farm and failed to pay the interest the mortgage would be foreclosed and he would lose his property, but Germany as a State is able to get away with this because the U. S. Government cannot take the property, i.e., Germany. Since this country sells to Germany more than she buys she cannot retaliate, or says she can't, for that would mean a loss of trade, so there seems nothing the U. S. can do about it. Mr. Condlon says that the bankers here are "baffled" which adds a spice of humor to an otherwise sordid tale. Imagine a *pure* German banker being able to baffle an American banker by a new method of swindling! As the fellow said when he saw his first aeroplane, "it just ain't so!" Without being the least bit sympathetic toward those who bought the bonds which were supposed to pay 7 per cent interest, Germany is stealing the money from those bond holders as clearly as if she held them up with a gun and took it, *according to accepted standards of morality*. And may we remark parenthetically that this cannot be blamed on the Jews for it was Hitler's own government that did it.

It is unreasonable of course to expect a government guilty of as many crimes and cruelties as the Hitler government is to stop at stealing but the slickness and brazenness of the German State is, to put it mildly, interesting. Further, it remains true, no matter how broadminded and sympathetic one may be towards the millions of honest Germans who do not agree with and the many who do not even know what the government which speaks in their name is doing, that by their tacit or open support of this Totalitarian State they will have to pay a heavy price. The innocent suffered with the guilty in the great war because of their toleration of the Hohenzollerns, and the innocent will suffer with the guilty because of their toleration of Hitler and his murderous crew. When the Totalitarian State steals in the name of the people of that State, for good or evil the people will benefit or suffer because of it. Our guess is that they will suffer.

The Gold Standard:

A series of fifteen articles which "eight distinguished men, representing both major political parties, have approved and sponsored" and later on a series of ten articles by Dr. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Banking and Finance of the Harvard Business School and late advisor to the British and American governments, recently appeared in *The New York Times* defending the good gold standard. In between the two series Al. Smith, the Sappy Warrior, rose in defense of "sound" money and called those dollars not sanctified by the House of Morgan "baloney" dollars. We read all of these articles and were surprised to find that the interests of the robber and robbed were

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The Revolutionary Uprising in Spain is Crushed, Thanks to the Betrayal of Socialists and Communists

By SOLANO PALACIO

The anarcho-syndicalist movement that began Dec. 8th at 2 a.m. in the various provinces of Spain may be considered as crushed, notwithstanding the heroism and abnegation of the comrades who participated and who, deprived of support from the other sections of the labor and revolutionary camp, were beaten by the forces of the police and the army. There were attempts at rebellion inside the army barracks and an open rebellion by a part of the garrison in Burgos, but the cowardice of Socialists and Communists, who not only ordered their followers not to join the strike, but to continue working, discouraged the soldiers. This treason will pass into history as an additional shameful act on the part of the Marxian parties, who apparently have no other purpose than to assure the peace of the bourgeoisie.

The millionaire Socialist leader, Prieto, stated in Congress that neither the Socialists nor the U. G. T. (socialist labor unions) were participating in the movement because they didn't believe in the Libertarian Communism that the elements of the C.N.T. wanted to establish in Spain. It is only natural that millionaires should not be in favor of a social revolution. The movement was of such wide scope and high aims that none doubt any longer the fearlessness and strength of the components of the C.N.T. Even the bourgeoisie declared that the movement would have been successful had the socialist elements joined.

In view of the attitude of the Socialists and Communists it is only natural that the army hesitated. While the members of the C.N.T. were fighting on the streets, the Socialists and the Communists who had so many times threatened the "social revolution" were betraying their fellow workers, obeying orders from their political bosses.

The C.N.T. called on them on several occasions before starting the revolt; it called them again in the midst of the fight by means of manifestoes; finally in the face of the treachery of these hapless creatures who are good only for depositing ballots in times of election, the Regional Committee of Gijon published a note stating that the Communists and Socialists had refused to join.

The movement spread to practically all the provinces in Spain; in the Northern provinces it was the least effective, although there were clashes with the police, and a general strike was declared in many cities and towns, but without full success because of the treason of the Marxians. This happened in the provinces of Asturias, Santander and Vizcaya.

In view of the gravity of the situation, we went to see the Socialists and the Communists, at a time when our comrades in Aragon and Catalonia had already seized several towns. The Socialists answered that they looked upon the movement sympathetically and were willing to join it, but would not do so unless they received orders from Madrid. The Communists at first took to the idea of joining in a revolutionary strike with enthusiasm, but later refused to join on the excuse that a Manifesto had to be issued stating that the aims were economic. This, when a revolutionary general strike had been declared, the comrades had already seized several towns, and municipal archives were burning in huge bonfires, was worse than a flat refusal. It meant, in short, that they did not want to contribute to the success of a revolution made by Anarchists. The following day the U. G. T. published the following note:

"The executives of the Socialist Party and the Union General de Trabajadores (U. G. T.) in a joint meeting, have carefully examined the political and social situation of the moment, in accordance with the information available. We fully recognize the gravity of the situation and shall not try to conceal it, but on the contrary emphasize it. In doing so, we declare that the national organizations represented by these executives have not and are not participating in the movement that has started in several parts of Spain by a given labor section, and feel that the responsibility for that movement falls fully on the government and the personalities of the political parties who because of their disregard for the social aims of the people, have deviated the Republic from the course in which the will of the people had placed it. . . .

"As a result of the declaration contained in the above note, the Executive Committee of the U.G.T., which called the National Committee urgently to discuss the situation, recommends that all loyal members of the U.G.T. abstain from listening to appeals from extraneous elements asking them to quit work."

The above note was published on the 11th of December. Betrayal had taken place; once more the Socialists had sided with the bourgeoisie.

While the Socialists were carrying out their act of treachery by the publication of that shameful note Libertarian Communism was being proclaimed in Hospitalet and the Rioja. In Hospitalet, trucks and motor cars that passed along the highway were seized and their occupants made to get out. The drivers were given arms and induced to defend libertarian communism; the rich were made to help in front of the barricades. The palaces of the rich were seized, and wealth in general was declared the common property of the newborn free society. The example of Hospitalet was followed by other towns of lesser importance. In the Rioja region libertarian communism was established in San

Vicente de la Sonsierra, in Briones, San Asensio, Fuenmayor, Haro, Calahorra, Arnedo and other towns. In Logrono and Zaragoza the workers dominated the situation for a while.

The outstanding feat of heroism fell to the lot of the rebels of Villanueva de la Serena, in the province of Badajoz. The rebels, directed by an infantry sergeant by the name of Pio Sopena, seized the Recruiting Zone and barracks and defended themselves from that point with unusual heroism, killing quite a few of the besieging forces of the government. To the command to surrender the beseiged answered with musket volleys. To one of those calls to surrender Sergeant Pio Sopena replied that they would do so only when dead.

Forces were concentrated around barracks to beat half a dozen rebels who had remained alive inside an old house. And the savagery, the massacre, of Casas Viejas was repeated.

There is a possibility that fascism may come, that reaction may enthrone itself and that the Spanish people, a people of rebels and brave fighters, may fall into the darkness of obscurantism and reaction. The responsibility for this, with all its consequences, will fall squarely upon the Marxians—the Communists and Socialists—who in the decisive moment betrayed the cause of liberty. We are on the eve of an era of persecutions and tyranny for which the Marxians are alone to blame, because with their deceit and their methods of political struggle they have led the workers to the greatest disasters in history.

The revolutionary movement, which with more or less intensity had an echo in every Spanish province, were it not for the betrayal of these people would have attained a decisive success, and perhaps at this time libertarian communism would be established in Spain. The Socialists continually repeated that if they did not win the elections they would seek triumph on the barricades. They lost the elections but dared not go into the streets to fight.

In spite of the sorrow caused by the betrayal of our fellow workers, when they are workers, of course, we don't lose hope. There are peoples that cannot be beaten; the Spanish are among them. As proof we have the first uprising two years ago, which was confined to the Upper Hobregat; the second uprising covered eleven provinces; and this, the third, as I have said, had repercussions in practically every Spanish province.

The present position of the Marxians will make the workers who are still loyal to those organizations but who believe in the revolutionary content of the Marxist doctrines, forsake them and join the ranks of the C.N.T.

Then it will be the bourgeoisie who will face the decisive battle, which will establish libertarian communism despite the treachery of the servants of the bourgeoisie.

Mieres, Spain.

Preparing for War

By AMMON HENNACY

According to the Milwaukee Sentinel of December 1, 1933, plans are being made by the U. S. War Department toward making Milwaukee a center for the manufacture of bombs and air-plane equipment for the next war. "Lieutenant James B. Jordan, procurement planning representative of the U. S. Army Air Corps, Chicago, visited the Seaman Body plant and made preliminary arrangements for assembly of Boeing pursuit ships in large numbers; at the A. O. Smith plant aerial bombs would be manufactured by the firm's welding process. Mr. Jordan got in touch with the industries division of the Association of Commerce, according to Irvin J. Ott, manager of the division. Other industries, among them Milwaukee Parts Corporation, which makes tank aero engines, will be visited on future trips to Milwaukee."

What plans are radicals making for the next war? In referring to the above news item the *Daily Worker* added to its customary half truth by stating that the Socialist County Board did not protest against the use of the County Airport for war preparation. I interviewed two Socialist members of the Board who stated that if the Government wanted the airport they would take it without asking any questions. Formerly the Socialists in Milwaukee have marched in preparedness parades, boasted of the fact that no young men from Milwaukee went to jail in opposition to the War and have consistently voted for any military plans put forward by patriots here. Many of the young Socialists like to think that they would not go to the next war, but they are used to following party politicians and are unlikely to disturb the political scene.

The above plan in Milwaukee is for the expenditure of but part of the $10,000,000 given by Congress for construction of airports along the main traveled highways preparatory for the next war. How many Anarchists are ready to refuse to work on army or navy equipment; to work under any kind of army orders; to refuse to buy liberty bonds; and in the final analysis to stand by the young comrades who will have to go to war or go to jail? And of the young comrades, how many have made up their minds to take the absolute stand of Berkman and refuse to support war, or of Kramer and Becker and refuse to register for the draft?

The Tolstoian who is a pacifist on principle can be depended upon to oppose war. The emotionalist who dislikes to think of the horrors of war but who never has thought for himself will follow the church and the state in approval of war. The radical who is pugnacious and is ready to use violence for a "good cause" is likely to be misled by a new "holy war," as were many radicals in 1917. The Anarchist philosophy, which depends upon the individual rather than the coercion of the group, ought therefore to be the center of an active war resisters' group. I will be pleased to communicate with any of the younger generation who feel the necessity of active opposition to war other than that of the Communist trap of the United Front.

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Notes and Comments

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considered as identical and that if the graft of the banker was interfered with the country was almost sure to go to hell straight off. We expressed our humility regarding our knowledge of the money question once before but when the ex-newsboy of Oliver Street discusses it in terms of authority even we venture a question. If banks are allowed to issue credit tokens for one thousand dollars and charge interest on that amount promising to redeem them in gold at any time when they have only one *hundred* dollars on hand to do it with, how can we be on a gold standard and how can the interests of the banker who makes the profit be identical with those of the fellow who pays it?

Mussolini and Freedom of Worship in Russia:

Il Duce was expected to urge freedom of worship in Russia in his recent talk with Litvinoff but as nothing has been said about it in the press we take it that he was afraid the latter might choke himself to death laughing at the suggestion. Since that would have been a distinct loss to the diplomatic service he refrained from mentioning it.

Samuel Untermyer:

Samuel Untermyer, reformer, budget balancer for Tammany and self-constituted leader for orthodox Jewry in this country, rises to correct a statement made in the public press that he received a million dollar fee from Fox, the movie magnate, for saving that lamb from the big bad wolf of Wall Street. Untermyer retrieved a beggarly twenty-one million dollars out of the Fox "wreck" and received only $570,000, which he thinks a fair fee. The great lawyer and budget balancer is a citizen of Yonkers, N. Y., where school teachers, firemen and other civil servants were without salaries for many months and then had to take a cut of about 16%. We hope these men and women read the opinion of Mr. Untermyer on what constitutes a "fair" fee and having read it appreciate the advantages of rugged individualism which means, according to the school books they teach from, that men and women are rewarded according to services rendered. We also hope that these men and women who even in the best of times receive a bare living and are now suffering for lack of the necessaries of an "abundant life" and are being preyed on by usurers will not allow their feelings to prejudice their presentation of the advantages of the capitalist system. They probably won't, for habit dies hard but whatever happens one can always hope.

Tobacco and Its Profits:

Mr. George Durno, Washington correspondent for *The New York Evening Post* and other papers, recently pointed out that last year the Big Four—American Tobacco, Ligget & Myers, Lorillard, and Reynolds—paid more to their stockholders in cash dividends than the farmer got for his entire crop. Quoting from the Agricultural Department's year book for 1932 he says, the farmer got $69,000,000 and the net profit for the manufacturers—an all time record—is set at $148,000,000. The Big Four alone paid dividends totalling $81,874,979 if you care for exact figures. "Labor saving machinery for cigar and cigaret manufacturers saved the companies $47,000,000 in wages (1923 compared with 1932). The cost of all materials for the finished product was pared by $65,000,000 despite increased production, [we seem to have heard of some folks making fun of the technocrats] and the farmer got $105,000,000 less." In spite of the banker it would seem the capitalist is still to be reckoned with. Incidentally, what do those comrades who are forever deriding the farmer think of these figures? It is more than possible that some of them think of it only in terms of the *worker* being deprived of that $148,000,000 which as far as the farmer is concerned would be equally bad. There must be justice for the farmer as well as for the worker and that means a different mental approach than that which now exists.

The following resolutions were forwarded to us by comrades in Baltimore. H. K.

Mr. Hans Luther
German Ambassador,
Washington, D. C.

December 24, 1933

RESOLUTION

We, Russian workers of Baltimore, Maryland, gathered the 24th of December, 1933, at a lecture arranged by a group of Anarchist Communists at 1029 East Baltimore Street, hereby protest vehemently against the regime of terror practised by the German Fascist Hitler Government against Anarchist Communists, Anarcho-syndicalists, Communists, Socialists, and the working class of Germany.

We demand immediate freedom for all political prisoners, otherwise we have resolved to promote boycott against German goods.

F. Seradreukow, *Chairman*

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THE FREE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS IN JAPAN: REPORT VI

Adapted by E. K. Nobushima from a lecture to workers by a Japanese comrade

The Working Classes and the Inflation

Since the exportation of gold was banned in December, 1931, the exchange value of the yen in the money market has rapidly depreciated. At the same time there has been a gigantic inflation to surmount the economic crisis produced by the preceding deflation and to settle the military expenditure in the Manchurian affair, so that at last the rate of exchange has fallen to 5.50 francs per yen, as against the gold par of 12.722 francs per yen.

This low rate considerably favors Japanese goods in the international market and makes it easy for them to go to all the corners of the earth, thus enriching the capitalists who pay for raw materials and wages in the depreciated yen. A glimpse of an astonishing profit gained by them can be caught through the following figures which show the business conditions of 71 big enterprises belonging to 19 different branches of industry.

Percentage of the profit on invested capital.

Industry	*1st half* '32	*2nd half* '32	*1st half* '33
Cotton spinning	25.7	28.3	30.2
Rayon (silket)	21.5	28.8	63.8
Woolen fabrics	21.2	23.4	27.6
Sugar	11.8	18.4	21.5
Milling	17.8	21.2	25.8
Fertilizer	7.7	9.1	18.0
Portland cement	13.8	16.9	16.5
Coal mining	6.6	4.2	7.8
Iron works	3.7	6.3	29.2
Oil, mines	8.2	8.7	13.8
Electricity	8.1	7.5	6.3
Gas	11.7	11.6	10.3
Maritime traffic	16.3	18.6	23.2
Railways	9.9	9.6	9.6
Exchange	12.6	13.3	12.9
Engineering	6.4	9.2	16.9
Land traffic	22.7	23.1	22.8
Fisheries	9.2	16.3	16.0
Breweries	31.3	25.2	18.8

These statistics are quite insufficient to indicate the real situation in each industry—the number of enterprises chosen being too limited,—moreover, they cannot be considered as a reliable index of the movement of industry as a whole or of its profit, many important departments being omitted. But as a glimpse of the situation they have their value. Through them we can see that the capitalists are once more gaining ground, having been able to avoid approaching bankruptcy. They have come back, making their victims the producers of raw materials and the industrial workers. The sacrifice that has been borne by the latter is shown clearly by the following data:

Workers employed and their incomes (figures of 1925 = 100)

	No. employed	*Fixed wage*	*Actual income*
April 1932	74.5	88.6	87.2
October 1932	75.8	87.3	88.8
April 1933	81.7	85.5	88.5

Behold, the number of workers employed increased by about 7 per cent, but their fixed wages dropped, and their actual income remained almost at a standstill, making a vivid contrast to the growing profit of the employers. We can estimate from the above index the income of the entire working class of Japan, as follows:

April 1932	October 1932	April 1933
64.96	67.31	71.77

Only about 7 per cent increase for the entire working population in a plain inflation boom. This must be compared with the price index for the same period. (January 1913 equals 100.)

April 1932	October 1932	April 1933
120.7	137.7	158.8

About 30 per cent rise! From another source we find that the busiest industries under the present inflation are those which have special technical relations with military supplies and those that are exporting these products, as shown below:

Workers employed and their actual incomes (figures of 1925 being taken as 100)

	No. employed		*Actual income*	
Industry	Apr. '32	Apr. '33	Apr. '32	Apr. '33
Filature	74.6	68.3	60.2	59.7
Cotton spinning	64.2	65.6	67.4	63.1
Weaving	66.4	72.8	68.9	66.6
Dyeing	78.5	87.2	86.6	82.9
Plaiting & Knitting	71.4	79.9	75.1	70.5
Engineering	96.5	126.6	94.4	103.5
Shipbuilding	74.9	79.1	88.8	96.3
Car constructing	77.3	82.1	84.2	88.9
Utensils	85.7	103.0	87.0	90.5
Metal articles	88.7	98.0	93.7	97.9
Pottery	65.4	70.4	81.1	82.6
Paper	72.0	72.1	90.1	92.3
Pharmaceutical	92.4	102.0	93.6	83.5
Rubber	127.6	145.7	88.0	86.1
Fertilizers	72.9	74.6	92.3	95.3
Eating & Drinking	77.7	79.8	90.9	92.2
Printing	91.2	93.2	91.8	90.8
Furniture	74.2	74.9	75.6	73.0

Compare this index with those of the profits gained by capitalists and of the prices of goods, then you will be able to get some idea of the condition of the working classes under the inflation in Japan.

Tokio, August 20, 1933.

(*Continued from page* 4)

RESOLUTION

We, the Russian workers of Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A., gathered together in a meeting of the Anarchist Communists on December 24, 1933, at the Socialist Hall, 1029 East Baltimore Street, demand from the Soviet Government the establishment of complete freedom for the October Revolutionists in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and immediate freedom from jail and exile of all anarchists, syndicalists, and revolutionary workers and peasants.

This, in our opinion, will strengthen power for the world working class struggling with world capitalism and fascism.

F. Seradreukow, *Chairman*

Those Anarchist Diplomas

In your November number a Mr. Theo. L. Miles, of San Francisco, in an article entitled "An Anarchist Diploma Mill," seems to believe that I am to blame for the presentation at an Anarchist Conference held in Los Angeles April 29, 1932, of a Professor Briggs, "State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League and candidate on that ticket for a Superior Court judgeship," and for a campaign speech made for him by Charles T. Sprading.

I have to say that with the appearance of Professor Briggs at the Libertarian Conference held on that date I had nothing to do, nothing at all, nothing whatever. If I was not actually and actively hostile to the Conference idea I had been at least entirely cold. I had nothing to do, therefore, with the arrangements and the invitations. I did not attend the meeting at which Briggs spoke. If anyone is to be blamed for anything that happened at that meeting it certainly cannot be I.

It was to the energy of Rose Pesotta that the Conference was due and she did invite Briggs, but in justice to her I do not see how she either, a newcomer to Los Angeles, can be blamed for having no suspicion that the man whom she knew as "Dean Briggs of the Metropolitan University" was harboring the idea of becoming a candidate. When that cat was let out of the bag by Charlie Sprading I am told that she was just as startled and taken aback as everybody else and that she at once vigorously repudiated all knowledge and connection. What Mr. Mills describes as a campaign speech I have heard others describe as just a piece of witty jollying in Charlie's solemn-faced style, taken too seriously by one or two of the visitors from San Francisco not particularly strong in their sense of humor. I do not know. I was not there (any more than Mr. Miles). I have repeatedly warned Charlie that his jokes are not as good as mine; I cannot be held responsible for any jokes but my own. Nor can the group for any joke not officially sanctioned—and Charlie is not a member of the group. Certainly no member of our group, even jocularly, supported Briggs for the judgeship or voted for him or for anybody else: when it comes to judges we vote no more for Briggs than for Thayer.

I do not mean that Professor Briggs appeared under any false pretences; he did not come as an Anarchist but as one of two outsiders who were invited to speak on special subjects on which they were exceptionally well informed. Briggs is a very able man—and Rose had been taken by his eloquence in defence of civil liberty and in denunciation of dictatorship—but he has never by any of us been called anything but a courageous and consistent liberal. That nonsensical stuff about the Anti-Saloon League shows how absurdly the story has been exaggerated in its travels, if not with deliberation and malignancy, at least with an extraordinary willingness on the part of some San Francisco comrades to believe anything on earth against anyone who varies with them, however little, in opinion. Charles T. Sprading and Arthur E. Briggs are perhaps the two best known anti-prohibition speakers in Los Angeles; the State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League is Arthur *H.* Briggs of San Francisco.

As regards the other matter, when Vanzetti includes among his other enemies—the prosecutor, the judge, etc.—"my former lawyers," it seems to me that only a man quite blinded by fanatical hatred can suppose that he meant Moore. The plural, the context, the history of the case, all show plainly that by "my former lawyers" he had in mind not the man who, whatever his faults and failings, had jumped into the fray at the critical moment, put up a bold and determined fight and contributed considerably to turn an obscure frame-up into a great historic struggle, but the two shysters Graham and Vahey who, when paid to defend him in the first trial over the Bridgewater affair by their criminal indifference and neglect—if not their outright betrayal—in allowing the judge so often to rule against him without taking exception and in not bothering to put in an appeal in time, practically passed him over to his executioners legally tied hand and foot. He had especially in mind Vahey, who had declared that the defense was content with the judge's charge to the jury, who was all along a close associate of the officials, and who not long after the trial became a law partner of the treacherous prosecutor Katzmann himself.

The only quotation from Vanzetti given by Miles which really deals with Moore proves exactly what I said. I said that Vanzetti did not write in the same way as Sacco. Sacco, you know, wrote in the very bitterest strain, calling Moore "my worst enemy." All that Bart has to say is: "I think that Moore has left the Defence, but I am not sure of it. If so, it may be better for us." If that "may be better for us" is *writing in the same way* I do not know the meaning of words.

Not that it really matters whether I was correct or not: I took care to say that I knew nothing of the matter direct. I wrote the article in the first place not for FREEDOM but for our local paper *Open Forum*, and when I sent a copy to FREEDOM I was surprised myself when they used it in full. The memorial meeting was not organized by our group but by his friends among the old Wobblies.

I did not give Moore any diploma as an Anarchist; it was Judge Thayer who called him "the wild-haired Anarchist from the West"; on the contrary I said that he was not one and that his views had remained those of the I.W.W. A merely apologetic defence of individual liberty, I pointed out, was not enough. I think that to be entitled to the name of Anarchist a man must be clear, definite, bold and outspoken. But I think also that he must be honest, straight, tolerant and responsible. He must not on mere hearsay put forth charges about an affair in which he was not present against a man he has never in his life seen or heard. Still less against a whole group. He must not magnify mistakes into misdeeds, hunt always some treacherous meaning in a simple word, put the worst

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International Working Men's Association Russian Aid Fund

News from Soviet Russia again tells us of outbursts of arrests perpetrated by the G. P. U. (the former Tcheka) against our Anarchist comrades and sympathizers in Odessa, Tomsk, and many other cities.

As usual, no concrete accusations or indictments were made against those arrested. They are adjudged under the administrative procedure, that is, the G.P.U. sentences and metes out punishment without any semblance of the formality of judicial trial. In such arbitrary manner has the G.P.U. arrested our comrades in Odessa, Rachel Venger, F. Gekselman, I. Rabinowitch and others. What the accusations are against them they do not know, but in spite of that they have been in prison for the last eight months, and what will happen to them in the future it is hard to tell.

During January of 1933, the G. P. U. arrested nine politically exiled comrades in the City of Tomsk. For seven months they were jailed in the Novosimbirsk prison and after that three were sentenced to political isolation, three were sentenced to continued exile and the remaining three were released after having served seven months in jail without any concrete accusation against them as to their crime. The reason for all this we do not know, nor can we guess any better than you.

Comrades Kordoa, Machonin, Kumanov and many others were arrested last year while they were in exile in Archangel, and now they are in political isolation in Verchny Ural. Comrade Batrak, when he had finished his sentence of imprisonment in the Verchny Ural political isolator, was exiled to Turechanck in Siberia, and then to Krasnuyarsk. He is so exhausted from this that his health has been impaired and he is in danger of a complete collapse. His days are numbered.

Comrade John Kruglov spent six years in jail and afterwards was exiled to Pavlodar (Kosakstan). Comrade Yourtchenko was exiled for three years to Krasnuyarsk, Comrade Turlovsky was sentenced to three years in Petropavelsk, Comrade Vasilly Alexandrovsk was sentenced to three years in the Suzdal political isolator. After three years of imprisonment in the Verchny Ural political isolator, Comrade Nicholas Lang was exiled to Krasnuyarsk.

This list of the persecuted Anarchist comrades and sympathizers would be endless if we enumerated them all, with repetition of tragedy after tragedy, but why burden the reader? Indeed, from the list of persecutions and imprisonments given one can gather a clear conception of what is in store for those who are suspected of Anarchist ideas or sympathies; their fate is sealed. After several years of imprisonment in political isolators the victims are exiled to Siberia, Archangel or Kosakstan. "Mother Russia" is not lacking in places of isolation in the uninhabitable regions of the far north. Before the term of exile is finished the victims are rearrested—to find an accusation is an easy matter, it is either that the accused has not changed his views or that he has received a letter from abroad or that he could no longer stand the oppression and had dared to protest against inhuman treatment. In short, the victim is arrested on any flimsy pretext, is imprisoned and tyrannized over for a while, and then exiled to some out-of-the-way place for several years. This process goes on until the victim is completely broken on the rack of persecution and another comrade has been added to the many who have died from hounding and exile or hunger. That is the reward for human beings who have the courage to protest or to think otherwise than as the Government orders.

Comrades, if your protest and indignation are to have any force, back them up with your help. If you are against such brutalized treatment of our Anarchist comrades—Anarchist Communists, Individualist Anarchists and Revolutionary Trade Unionists—then send your contributions to help our imprisoned and exiled comrades who are wasting away in Soviet prisons and dying from cold, hunger and sickness, to the Russian Aid Fund, care of Dr. Holtz, 1529 Pleasant Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

Urgent Appeal

The insurrection of our Spanish comrades is for a time crushed. Treachery and the spinelessness of Marxian Socialists and Communists have helped the bourgeoisie to crush the only sincere attempt to prevent a dictatorship in Spain.

But our comrades in Spain have saved the honor of Anarchism. The name of the Anarchist is again respected. They have proved to the world that not all Anarchists are buried in the mire of "philosophic" sloth. All honor to them!

Yet the price is heavy: hundreds of our comrades killed and wounded; thousands in the clutches of the enemy; hundreds of families in frightful need. Think of the children, our future generation of Anarchists!

Help is needed. We still have some breathing space in America and we must support our heroic brothers and sisters in Spain. Let us hasten to their succor and let us do it quickly. No phrases are necessary. You in whom the spirit of freedom is still burning and to whom Anarchism is not a mere label, you will understand and act.

Send all contributions to: Aurora Alvarez, 3361 Bagley Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

Hippolyte Havel

ANARCHIST DIPLOMAS

(*Continued from page* 6)

possible construction on every phrase. A man who does that is not an Anarchist and a comrade, but an ass and a pest, and space given to his outrageous balderdash is much worse than wasted.

T. H. Bell

* * *

The above letter speaks for itself and the subject is closed, except for us to say that we regret not having checked up on Miles's statement before printing it.

H. K.

Rocker Publication Committee

Editors of FREEDOM.

Dear Comrades:

Allow us a few lines to make the following announcement:

A permanent committee — known as the "Rocker Publication Committee"—was organized in Chicago for the purpose of publishing in English Comrade Rocker's book on the race theory, to which he has devoted many years and which is now completed in manuscript form.

The work is as timely as it is scholarly, since the race and national questions have been and are most disturbing elements in many of the civilized countries in the world. This work, therefore, will be a notable contribution to this most thought-provoking question.

Our plan is as follows: A special "Rocker Publication Committee" will be organized in every city where it is possible. Its functions shall be to get both advance subscriptions and contributions. All monies collected shall immediately be sent to the general secretary, and he in turn shall deposit them with the general treasurer. A receipt for same will be mailed to the contributor or subscriber. A general account will be published of all monies received and spent at stipulated intervals, so that the comrades shall know at all times what progress is being made.

The Chicago committee is getting in touch with an individual whom Comrade Rocker has recommended for the translation of the manuscript. (The original is in German.)

Comrades, we have no illusions about the tremendous task we are undertaking. It is, however, a work that should inspire every one of us to do our share. Those who have heard Comrade Rocker speak on the above topic know what a scholarly and profound achievement this book will be when published. Let us, therefore, do all we can to make the publication of this book a reality in the near future.

Address all communications and information to our general secretary, Joseph Goldman, 6160 Winthrop Avenue, Chicago.

Respectfully,
Rocker Publication Committee
Jos. Goldman, Sec'y.

Committee:
Jay Levey, M. Olay, Jos. Goldman,
Kate Piconi, A. M. Weinberg

Second Annual

FREEDOM COSTUME BALL

Friday, February 23, 1934

AT

IRVING PLAZA

15th Street & Irving Place, New York City

ADMISSION 50 CENTS — JAZZ BAND

Anarchist Lectures *and* Open Forums

(In English)

FREE WORKERS' CENTRE

219 Second Avenue, New York City

WEDNESDAYS—LECTURES

Wednesday, February 7th—Gorham Munsan
Social Credit: "The Economics of Liberty"

Wednesday, February 14th—Debate by
Tom Wright and Mark Jackson
"Futilitarianism versus Anarchism"

Wednesday, February 21st—Sam Weiner
"Evolution and Revolution"

Wednesday, Feb. 28th—Rachel B. Muravchick
"The Family in a Changing World"

SUNDAYS—OPEN FORUMS

Sunday, February 4—Ben Fletcher
"Labor Movement—Past and Future"

Sunday, February 11—Dr. Wolf Addler
"Sex and Perverted Sex"

Sunday, February 18—Walter Starrett
"Syndicalism, the Hope of the Future"

Sunday, February 25—Vera Buch
"The Progress of the Spanish Revolution"

OUR HONOR ROLE OF FREEDOM'S MONTHLY PLEDGES

$5.00	Michael A. Cohn, Marc Epstein
$2.00	D. Isacovitz, Harry Kelly, Dr. M. Jagendorf, Elsie Kelly
$1.00	Sarah Cohen, Minnie Schwartz, Jack Frager, Claire Comorau, Tania Schapiro, Anna Strahl, Liza Brilliant, H. Comorau, and *Who's Next?*

Financial Statement—January

Income		
Cash on Hand		$55.18
Collected at Freedom Group's Birthday Party to FREEDOM as follows: S. & W. Bannister $2, H. & T. Comorau $2, T. Wright, Kimmelman, Bluestein, Benjamin, Spivak, E. Isacovitz, M. Schwartz, D. Pines & Friends, S. Cohen, $1 each; I. Cohen, Radinowsky, B. Gubin, A Comrade, 50c. each		15.00
Freedom Group		13.70
Equality Society, San Francisco		10.00
Pledges as follows: M. Epstein (2 mos.), M. A. Cohn—$5; $2—D. Isacovitz (2 mos.), E. Kelly; $1—M. Schwartz, A. Strahl (2 mos.), S. Cohen, L. Brilliant, C. Comorau, J. Frager		28.00
Donations and Subscriptions as follows: $2—E. Wong, J. Kassel, Dr. Robinson, McDonald's Book Shop, Celia Marx, H. Vander Meer, Dr. Barkas, H. Coleman, R. Jones, P. Rachmane; $1.19 A. Sosnoffsky; $1—I. VanDyken, S. Parish, Greenblatt (Alicia), C. Pritchard, R. B. Garcia, J. Buckie, A. Weber, Lenfrenko, S. T. Byington, J. Petrovich, C. T. Sprading, D. Pearl, J. Boquet, Shane (Md.); 50 cents—N. C. Fong, L. Battaglia, Miscellaneous		36.00
Union of Russian Workers, Los Angeles		5.00
Loan from a Comrade		10.00
Total		$173.43
Expenses		
Printer for December Issue	$60.00	
Loan Payment, December and January	20.00	
Mailing December FREEDOM	7.50	
Special Letter—Mimeographing and Postage	7.90	
To Comrade—On Personal Loan	6.10	
Post Office Box—(8 mos. period)	4.00	
Postage	2.64	
Stationery & Miscellaneous	1.85	
Wrappers for January issue	3.00	
Printer for January issue (less $10)	50.00	
Total		$162.99
Cash on hand		$ 10.44
Accounts Payable—Outstanding		
Loan	$80.00	
Printer	389.53	
Comrade	12.90	

The response for this month has been fine despite the small cash balance and if the spirit only continues, we all feel confident that our debts will be paid before we know it. Help us raise funds for FREEDOM so that we can go on!!!